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I.—THE STAG-MESSENGER EPISODE.

It seems to be generally agreed by those who are best qualified to express an opinion about mediaeval Celtic literature that that form of the so-called fairy induction motif in which a stag or hind serves as a messenger to lead a mortal hero to a *fée* is of Celtic origin, and the presence of this episode in a mediaeval poem is cited as evidence that the poem is derived from Celtic sources or has undergone Celtic influence. This conclusion seems to be based upon the fact that the episode in question occurs most frequently in poetry dealing with the "*matière Bretagne*", but the evidence is not conclusive enough, as I shall try to make clear, to warrant such definite statements as are made concerning its Celtic provenience. It should not be forgotten that before we can definitely assign a given episode, occurring in mediaeval French poetry or prose, to Celtic tradition or to a Celtic literary source, there are at least two conditions which must be met: 1. The episode must be proved beyond reasonable doubt, on evidence independent of the French work in which it is found, to have been a part of Celtic tradition, oral or written, before its earliest appearance on French soil. 2. It must not occur in any form, oral or written, which is demonstrably free from Celtic influence, and at the same time equally current, and also equally accessible and well-known to a French writer as any possible Celtic source. The first of these conditions is accepted¹ even by the most enthusiastic

¹ Cf. e. g. the remarks of Professor Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, p. 590; Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 9 sq.

advocates of the Celtic theory, but the second, which is just as important as the first, just as necessary for convincing proof, seems to be entirely disregarded. In the following study I have tried to keep both these conditions in mind, and my endeavor has been to present, unbiased by preconceived theories, certain facts which seem to have been overlooked and yet are certainly not without importance.

As a fair example of the usual form of the episode may be cited the Lay of Graellent,¹ 193 sq. Graellent, having been wrongfully treated by his king and sought as her lover by the queen, mounts his horse during the former's absence and leaves the court unattended. He is riding sadly through the forest when suddenly a hind "tute blanc | plus n'est nois nul sorbrance", starts up before him. He pursues her hotly but cannot overtake her, and finally she leads him to a fountain of clear, sparkling water in which a maiden is bathing; her clothes are hanging on a tree near by, and two other maidens are serving her. Graellent is at once smitten with her beauty, forgets all about the hind, and to keep the maiden from escaping, takes possession of her clothes, and in the end works his will upon her; she grants him her love, promises him bountiful treasure and declares that she will be with him whenever he desires her, but that if at any time he reveals their relations he shall lose her.

In this story, as Professor Schofield pointed out long ago,² there is a confusion of a fairy mistress and a swan-maiden, and he also called attention to the fact that the same situation exists in a version of the story of Wayland and the swan-maidens contained in the Middle High German poem of Friedrich von Schwaben (14th cen.). Here the details are practically the same as in Graellent. It is clear, however, that originally the hind-messenger episode was not connected with this swan-maiden story, for in the earliest version of the latter, that in the

¹ Ed. Roquefort, *Poésies de Marie de France*, I, pp. 202 sq. The Lay has been studied by Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 15, 1900, pp. 121 sq. He recognizes that the so-called Breton lays contain much matter that is not Celtic, but he regards the Celtic character of the hind-messenger episode as established. This is also the conclusion of Cross in the article cited, and of Kittredge, *l. c.*, pp. 231 sq.

² *Harvard Stud. and Notes*, 5, 1896, pp. 236-7, and also his article referred to above. Cross, *l. c.*, pp. 616 sq., thinks that the entire lay, hind-messenger and "the other world woman of the swan-maiden type", was part of Celtic tradition before the 12th cen.

Eddic Völundarkviða¹ (9th cen.), no hind appears; Wayland and his brothers have arrived at Ulfdal, and there one morning on the border of a lake, they come upon the swan-maidens with their swan-plumage beside them.

In another swan-maiden story, however, a story which is very similar in many of its details to Graelent, and doubtless prior to it in date, the same method is employed to bring the hero to the maiden. This is the story of the Cygni, told by the seventh Wise Man in the Dolopathos of Johannes de Alta Silva.² Here the hero goes hunting with his dogs and sees "cervam nive candidiorem, decem in quolibet cornu habentem ramos".³ He pursues the hind down into a well-wooded valley, loses sight of both the hind and his dogs, and finally "fontem repperit nimphamque in eo catenam auream tenentem manu nudaque menbra lavantem conspicit". He is overcome by her beauty and, like Graelent, forgets the hind and his dogs, and approaching her by stealth seizes the chain "in qua virtus et operatio virginis constabat". He then promises to make her his wife and on the next morning takes her to his home, where in due time she bears him six sons and a daughter. These the jealous mother of the youth orders to be exposed, and they are found by an old hermit who feeds them on hind's milk and raises them as his own children. The French version of Herbert, vs. 9188 sq., shows no important variation from this account.

This story is the earliest extant version of the Chevalier au Cygne, and this introductory episode of the hind-messenger occurs in most of the later versions;⁴ the feeding of the chil-

¹ Cf. Saemundar Edda, ed. Bugge, p. 163. For further references on this subject, cf. Cross, l. c., p. 621, n. 4.

² I quote from the edition of Hilka, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 80 sq.

³ That this hind should have horns is noteworthy. The hind of Keryneia which Hercules hunted had golden horns (Pind. O. 3, 29: χρυσόκερων ἔλαφον θήλειαν), and hinds are sometimes given horns in ancient writings, cf. Ael. de nat. an. 7, 39. On a gem which depicts the suckling of Hercules' son Telephus by a hind the hind is given horns; the gem is in Vienna; cf. the catalogue of Sacken and Kenner, no. 663. On this matter, cf. a paper by Ridgeway, summarized in A. J. A. IX, 1894, p. 571. He suggests that the "horned hind of Keryneia" was a reindeer, a species of deer found in northern Europe and Asia.

⁴ Cf. Todd, La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. 4, 1889, Intro. p. 11 sq. He makes no special comment on the intro-

dren is generally due directly to a hind. In the French romance, *Chevalier au Cygne*, however, the hind-messenger episode does not have a place, nor in the English metrical romance, *Cheuelere Assigne*, based upon it.¹ In the English prose romance, *The Knight of the Swanne*, on the other hand, there is a rationalized account of the episode. The young king Oriant goes hunting with his dogs, raises a hart, and in his pursuit of it is led to a river across which the hart swims and escapes.² The king then comes upon a fountain "which was so clere and pleasaunt" that he dismounts and sits down under a tree. Presently a young damsel, Beatrice, appears, accompanied by a noble knight and two squires. Oriant falls in love with her, pays his court in true knightly fashion, and later makes her his wife. The children are born, exposed, and found by a devout hermit who, not knowing how to feed them, prays to God for aid, and miraculously there appeared in his house a fair white goat which gave them suck.

Very close to the form of the episode found in these stories is that occurring in the shorter version of the romance of *Parténopeus of Blois*, a version based upon a lost French original and now existing in a fragmentary form in English, and in a complete but altered form in a Danish, Icelandic, and Spanish-Catalan translation.³ In view of the undoubted non-Celtic

ductory episode, nor does Paris, *Rom.* 19, 1890, pp. 314 sq., or Huet, *Rom.* 34, 1905, pp. 206 sq. According to Paris "Jean a bien probablement recueilli ce conte dans la tradition orale du pays où il l'écrivait"; Huet notes the composite character of the story in *Dolopathos* and suggests a written source, a poem already attached to the *Crusades* and in the form of a *chanson de geste*. It may be noted that some claim an oriental origin for the *Knight of the Swan*; on this whole matter, cf. Jaffray, *The Two Knights of the Swan*, London, 1910, pp. 2 sq., 23 sq.

¹ Ed. Gibbs, *E. E. T. Extra Ser. VI*. For the prose romance, cf. Thoms, *Early Prose Romances*, v. 3.

² Professor Tupper reminds me of the opening episode in Scott's *Lady of the Lake* which resembles this account. In view of Scott's knowledge of these old romances it cannot be doubted that he had some such story in mind when he wrote his poem.

³ The English version is printed by Bödtker in his edition of *Partonope of Blois*, *E. E. T. Extr. Ser. CIX*, pp. 481 sq. The Spanish-Catalan version (in prose) which was accessible to me is an old volume printed at Gerona without date. I have not compared the Danish and Icelandic versions.

origin of the main feature of this romance, the appearance in it of the stag-messenger episode is, in view of what I shall show below, of great importance. Melior, the young queen of Byzantium, is ripe for a husband and seeks all over the world for one worthy of her. She finds him in the young prince Partonope, and in order to get him to her she raises by enchantment, for she possesses wondrous powers, a white hart with wide horns as he was hunting one day with his uncle and attendants in the forest of Ardennes. Partonope follows the hart in a vain pursuit and is led to the sea-shore, where appears a marvelous and beautiful ship. He goes on board, finds that he is the only passenger, and is carried to another land, to an uninhabited castle.¹ Here unseen hands wait upon him and at night the lady comes. In the Spanish-Catalan version the inducting animal is a "porch salvatge",² which, we are told at the outset, Melior has raised by her magic power. This boar occurs also in the longer version.³ Here Parténopeus kills one boar and a second appears which, when he pursues it, leads him to the sea, into which it plunges and swims across to safety. P. wanders in the forest unable to find his way home and does not come upon the ship until the following night. Not until the queen visits him and discloses her identity do we learn that she by her witchcraft brought about the hunt, made him follow the boar, sent the enchanted ship, etc.

These details in the Parténopeus story are paralleled by several in the Lay of Guigemar of Marie de France.⁴ Here also it must be noted that there are, as in the Parténopeus story,

¹ This romance, as is well known, is related to the Cupid and Psyche story of Apuleius. In view of the tendency to ascribe such magic ships and voyages to fairy castles to Celtic tradition, I would call attention not only to the situation and description of the castle in Apuleius, 5, 1, "Psyche—videt lucum proceris et vastis arboribus consitum, videt fontem vitreo latice perlucidum", but also to the fact that a voyage to it by ship is implied in 5, 15, "iugum sororium—recta de navibus scopulum petunt".

² I shall cite below a neglected passage from Ovid which is strikingly similar.

³ French version ed. Crapelet, Paris, 1834; English version ed. Bödtker, l. c. There is also a German version by Conrad v. Würtzburg, ed. Bartsch, Wien, 1871.

⁴ Ed. Warnke, *Die Lais de M. de France*, 2d ed., Halle, 1900, pp. 5 sq.

motifs drawn from oriental and classical sources.¹ In Guigemar the hero is taking part in a hunt after a great stag, during the course of which he, together with his squire, is separated from the rest of the company; the stag escapes, but G. then comes upon a white hind and her faun, which his dogs attack, and which he, without pursuit, be it noted, succeeds in wounding with an arrow which flies back and wounds him. The hind then addresses him and tells him that he will never be cured of his wound until he finds a lady who will suffer much on his account. G., greatly amazed, leaves the hind and finally comes to the sea-coast, where he finds a deserted ship built of ivory with sails of silk, on which he embarks and is carried to a wonderful land and a wonderful lady who, with her niece as her companion, is kept in a tower by her jealous husband and guarded by a eunuch. He remains with the lady, whose husband happens, very conveniently, to be away, for a year and a half, when the husband returns and forces him to depart; later he is successful in bringing her to his land.

It is commonly stated, compare the preceding note, that in this story the hind is the messenger of the *fée*, although the presence of the faun is thus left unaccounted for.² The hind, however, certainly does not lead Guigemar anywhere, since it apparently does not move from the covert in which he first sees it, nor is it, as Marie tells the tale, connected in any way with the ladies, who know nothing about it, nothing about the ship, nothing about Guigemar. The real messenger, I would suggest, is the stag which leads Guigemar to the hind and her faun and then escapes. These latter animals seem to be introduced solely to represent allegorically,—perhaps in a primitive version in

¹ These are pointed out by Schofield, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 15, p. 173; the *hind*-messenger, the magic ship, and the *fée* mistress he labels Celtic; so Cross, *Studies in Philology*, Univ. North Carolina Pub. 1913, p. 49. The similarity between the introduction to the *fée* in Guigemar and that in *Parténopeus* was noted by Hertz, *Uebersetzung d. Lais d. M. de France*, p. 250 and by Koelbing, *M. de France*, pp. LXXVIII sq.

² Curious and diverse are the explanations given to account for this episode. Some see two *fées*, even a bad and a good one, some one, cf. Koehler's note to Warnke, *Die Lais*, p. LX; according to Professor Nitze, *Mod. Phil.* 1914, p. 481, the hind is the *fée* herself; according to Miss Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, pp. 70 sq., the hero should have been turned into a stag and wandered in the woods until released.

reality,—the lady and her niece whom Guigemar is to meet later, and to inform him, in words strongly reminiscent of Ovid, of the love adventures which await him. When we compare the Lay with the corresponding portions of *Parténopeus* we realize how completely Marie, or her source, could spoil a well-told tale.

In the *Parténopeus* story it is explicitly stated that the appearance of the stag, or the boar, is due to the magic power of the lady who sends the animal to lead her beloved to her, and this feature occurs in several stories. In *Auberon*,¹ for example, Mantanors, attended by a company of hunters and his pack, goes forth one morning in May to hunt. A great stag, sent by Brunehaut, appears,—a “chierf fae” it is called in vs. 711,—in the pursuit of which Mantanors soon outdistances his companions. The stag takes refuge in a “pavillon noble”, which stood in a “desert vert”. Mantanors enters the “pavillon” and is amazed to find himself in the presence of thirty “dames et plus”, among whom is Brunehaut. Similarly in *Froissart’s Meliador*,² vs. 28362 sq., Diana sends a white stag to lead Saigremor to her when he is out hunting with his companions. Here the episode is varied somewhat, for the stag, after Saigremor has been led by his pursuit apart from his companions, approaches him and allows him to mount on its back. It then carries him to a lake, into which it plunges, whereupon Saigremor finds himself in a castle with Diana and her nymphs, who had arranged the whole game.

The last example of this type which I need quote raises a problem with which I am not qualified to deal, the relation, namely, of the various versions of the *Tristan* story. The facts, however, are plain enough and very important for the matter in hand. In *Malory*, bk. 8, ch. 1, in the account of the birth of Sir Tristram, we are told that his father, *Meliados*,

¹ Ed. Graf, *I Complementi della Chanson d’Huon de Bordeaux*, Halle, 1878, vs. 700 sq.

² Ed. Longnon, *Soc. Anc. Text.* Cf. Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, 1905, pp. 694 sq.; he connects the carrying beast, such as the stag in this story, with guiding beasts and refers them all to Celtic sources. He also makes no distinction, I may note, between such stories and those which I shall cite below in which the animal is slain. I assume, at least, that he makes no distinction since he refers to Miss Paton, l. c., p. 230, n. 3, and to Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 1900, p. 354, who group them all together. Cf. below, p. 405.

was hunting one day when a lady of that country who loved him, "by an enchaînement made hym chace an herte by hym selfe alone, til that he came to an old castel and there anone he was taken prysoner by the lady that hym loved"; during his absence Tristram was born. Now this episode is not found in Gottfried, the Old Norse version, or the English romance, and we must conclude that it was wanting in Thomas; and yet, if the episode is Celtic, and if, as we are told,¹ the version of Thomas derives from the "recits" of the "conteur gallois, Breri" (so Lot, l. c.), this is exactly where we should have expected to find it. Nor does it occur in Eilhart of Oberge,² and that it had no place in Bérout's³ version we may be sure, since he agrees with all these versions in naming Tristan's father Rivalin, not Meliodas, as in Malory. Only in the French prose romance and in the Italian version do we find his father called by this name, and only in the Italian version,⁴ it is important to note, do we find the episode of Meliodas' hunt of the stag, and the meeting with the lady by a fountain.⁵ The story is as follows. Meliadus and his wife Eliabella, who was heavy with child, are dwelling at Lionis. Meliadus, accompanied by many knights, goes forth to hunt, "e cacciando in tale maniera per lo grande *diserto* di Medilontas, lo re solo sie prese a sequitare uno cerbio; tanto gli andò dirietro sì a lungo, ch' egli si smarri da sua

¹ Cf. inter alios, Lot, *Rom.* 25, p. 23; Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 116, is not sure.

² Ed. Piper, in *Deutsch. National-Literatur, Höfische Epik, Erster Teil*, pp. 13 sq.

³ Ed. Muret, *Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1913. According to Muret, Intro. p. VI, the poems of Thomas and Eilhart, the prose romance, and the first part of Bérout, all derive, through intermediate versions, from a lost poem, composed before 1154, perhaps in Cornwall.

⁴ According to the summary of the prose version of Löseth, *Le Roman en Prose de Tristan*, Paris, 1891, p. 16, Meliadus is hunting in the forest, and comes upon the dead body of a knight; he stops, and is then approached by a "demoiselle enchanteresse", who loves him; she leads him to a tower situated on a black rock, and there, forgetful of his wife, he remains a long time. In his Introduction, pp. XXII sq., Löseth speaks of the essential agreement of Malory, the Italian version, and the prose romance, but makes no remark on details.

⁵ *La Tavola Ritonda*, ed. Polidori, Bologna, 1864, v. I, p. 39, ch. XII.

compagnia. E allora egli se n'andò alla fontana del Dragone, e quivi dismontò e si riposa. . . . E riposato ch' egli fue uno poco quivi, si v' arrivò una bella donzella". After a parley she leads him to a beautiful castle called "la Torre dello Incantamento", of which the lady, who was known as "la Savia Donzella", was the mistress. Here by her enchantment she made him forget Eliabella and all his former life.

The most striking detail in this story, which in other respects agrees very closely with the episode in *Dolopathos*, is the fact that the hunt takes place in a desert, all the more striking if we are to suppose that this episode had its origin in England or France or Italy, or anywhere in the west. It is clear, also, that if the author drew from the same source as the author of the prose romance, which alone contains the episode in a form at all comparable, he made several important changes in his original,—introduction of the stag, the fountain, and the desert in place of a forest,—and these changes could not have been due to any Celtic material which may have become attached to the *Tristan* story; otherwise we should have had, in all probability, some reference to it in some one, at least, of the many versions.¹

These stories, almost without exception, agree in certain essential details on which I would lay especial emphasis. 1. The hero with his companions and dogs goes out to hunt (*Graelent* is the exception here). 2. His going is entirely upon his own initiative, as far as he knows, and the hunt is nothing but a hunt, not a quest after any particular animal undertaken at the command or upon the challenge of some one else. 3. A stag (hind) starts up before him, and in his eager pursuit of it, he is separated from his companions and is led into a forest, or to

¹ I may note that in the prose *Tristan* (Löseth, sec. 323) there is an episode which seems to be derived from the stag-messenger episode; *Tristan* is out hunting and pursues a stag; he meets a "demoiselle" who leads him to the sea-coast and shows him a wonderful ship which is to take *Iseut* and himself to *Logres*. *Tristan* thereupon hurries to "la belle Fontaine du Cerf" where *Iseut* was wont to enjoy the air and there he finds her with many ladies and knights. In the version of *Gottfried*, 17291 sq. (ed. *Bechstein*), it is through the pursuit of a remarkable white stag, which appears only to disappear, that *Mark* is led to the hiding place, the Grot of Love, of *Tristan* and *Iseut*. *Miss Schoepperle*, in her book, *Tristan and Isolde*, has nothing to say about the stag-messenger episode as found in the Italian version.

some region unknown to him (note the desert in two versions), where the animal disappears unhurt. 4. The hero, either immediately, or after further wandering, finds himself in the presence of a beautiful maiden with whom he at once falls in love. The place of meeting and the outcome vary, but in the earliest of the stories the maiden is near a fountain and the hero takes her to his home and makes her his wife. These details, as I shall show, are a part of the original tale, and it is they which, to my mind at least, form the kernel of the stag-messenger episode; only by keeping them clearly before us can we make our way through the maze in which they have become entangled.

Needless confusion, in the first place, has been caused by the failure to distinguish carefully between such stories as those summarized above, in which the hunt is undertaken on the hero's initiative apparently, and the hunted animal escapes, and those in which the hero sets out to capture an animal known to him beforehand, and which end in the death of the animal. Such failure may be due to the fact that in many an old tale we find one or more of the above details used in connection with others with which originally they had nothing to do, but it does not follow that they should all be grouped together and labelled Celtic. Since this, however, is the usual practice, it is necessary to notice briefly, by way of example, certain stories which illustrate this confusion or which have been cited as parallels to the stag-messenger episode outlined above.

In Malory's account of the appearance of Merlin to Arthur, bk. I, ch. 19, we seem to catch an echo of a genuine stag-messenger story. Arthur, after his adventure with the wife of King Lot, goes out with many knights to hunt. A great hart appears before him and he gives chase, and chased so long that his horse fell down dead. Another horse is sent for, and when the king "saw the herte enbusshed and his horse dede, he sette hym doune by a fontayne and there he fell in grete thoughtes". After the appearance of a strange beast who is pursued by a knight, Merlin suddenly comes on the scene. Here we have the voluntary hunt, the stag, the fountain, but it seems to be implied that the stag does not escape. If, however, the purpose of the episode is to serve as an introduction for the appearance of Merlin, and if we are to suppose that Merlin by

his magic art brought about the hunt, it is obvious that the stag should have escaped.¹

Very similar is the situation in another story in Malory, bk. IV, 6. Arthur and many knights go hunting in a great forest, and he, King Uryens, and Sir Accolon follow a great hart until they are separated from the rest of the company. They finally ambush the hart on the sea-coast and Arthur kills it. Then a marvelous ship appears, which the three board, and on which they find twelve maidens who serve them with all manner of wines and meats and then lead them, each one to a great chamber, where they spend the night. In the morning King Uryens awakes to find himself in Camelot abed in the arms of his wife Morgan le fay, Arthur, to find himself in a prison along with many other knights, Sir Accolon, to find himself on the brink of a great well. All this, we learn, was due to the magic art of Morgan, whose object was to have Sir Accolon, to whom she sends the sword Excalibur, and Arthur, to whom she sends a counterfeit sword, meet in combat so that the latter would be slain. Here clearly the slaying of the stag is unnecessary, and there seems to be a confusion between the type of the stag-messenger story considered above, and what is, in my judgment, another type of story, namely, that in which the hunt is after an animal known beforehand to the hunter and which results in the death of the animal.

To these two important differences may be added a third, the fact, namely, that the hero undertakes the hunt at the request or command of some one else. In the face of these differences it is surprising that the stories should all be grouped together without distinction, but the fact that they are makes it necessary to consider briefly one or two examples.

The one most commonly cited is the Lay of Guingamor.² The introduction is a form of the Joseph-Potiphar story, in which a queen, when spurned by a knight whom she loves, in order to punish him, challenges him to hunt the "blanc porc" which dwells in a "lande aventureuse" where there is a "rivere

¹ In origin, if origins need concern us, the stag must have been an illusion, as we are expressly told in some stories; cf. below, p. 406.

² Ed. Paris, Rom. 8, 1879, pp. 50 sq. Cf. Schofield, *The Lay of Guingamor*, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, 5, 1896, p. 227; Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, 590 sq.

perilleuse". Ten brave knights who went to hunt this beast have never returned. Guingamor sets out (vs. 248 sq.) accompanied by many people and, while following the tracks of the boar, is separated from his companions. He finally comes to the perilous stream, which he crosses, and arrives at a beautiful castle which is apparently uninhabited. He leaves the castle, still in pursuit of the boar, and follows it to a fountain in which a maiden, attended by one companion, is bathing, having left her clothing upon the bank. Guingamor gets possession of this and after a parley, during which she promises to get the boar for him if he will abide with her for a while, she leads him into the castle, which is now filled with knights, among them the lost ten, and fair ladies. Here he stays, enjoying, as do his companions, all carnal delights, for three hundred years which seem to him but three days. He then decides to return to his home and carry back the head of the boar, which he had set out to secure, does so, breaks an injunction laid upon him by the fairy-mistress, pays the penalty, but in the end is carried back across the stream to the fairy's land.

Professor Schofield, in the article referred to, in his comparison between the swan-maiden episode in this Lay and that in Graellent and Dolopathos, makes no distinction between the induction episodes. In each case the result of the pursuit of the animal is, to be sure, the meeting with the lady at the fountain, but, as he notes, in Guingamor, the intriguing queen and her challenge to the hunt have absolutely no connection with the rest of the story, nor, I may add, has the slaying of the boar. In the other stories, however, the hunt is at least a logical episode and the stag, having performed its duty of leading the hero to the lady, disappears unhurt. In Guingamor, therefore, some such episode has been replaced by one belonging to the other type and the hunt is a task set the hero, his slaying of the animal the proper fulfillment of it.

To this type, also, belongs the hunt in the Percival saga in connection with the adventures of the hero in the Castle of the Chess Board.¹ Percival, after his first failure, crosses a river and enters a castle in the hall of which stands a chess-board; he plays and is beaten, and is about to throw the board into the

¹ For this episode in the various versions, cf. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 138 sq.

moat, when a maiden arises from the water, stays his hand, and enters the room. He is overcome by her beauty and she consents to give him her favor if he will bring her the head of the stag which is in the park; she lends him her hound, he hunts the stag and kills it, but as he returns, carrying its head, a "pucelle de malaire" intercepts him and deprives him of his prize. A knight finally carries off the head and the hound, and we learn that Percival lost them because he had omitted to ask concerning the Grail. (Potvin, *Conte de Grail*, 22395 sq.)

The Lay of Tyolet¹ is very similar in many of its details to parts of the Percival story. Tyolet, who, like Percival, was brought up apart from men, is taught by a *fée* to catch wild beasts by whistling. One day he sees a large stag, whistles, but the stag does not respond, and moves away from him into a forest. Tyolet follows it and is led to a stream across which it swims and becomes an armed knight. Tyolet then determines to become a knight, goes to Arthur's court, whither one day a beautiful damsel comes to seek a knight who will get for her the white foot of a beautiful stag which is guarded by six lions. One knight has made the attempt and failed, but Tyolet volunteers, declaring that he will not return without the foot. The maiden gives him a hound, which leads him to a stream across which it swims. Tyolet follows, finds the stag, and is successful in cutting off its foot; in the end he returns to marry the maiden and becomes king of her land.

This story is of importance because it shows very clearly the fundamental difference between the two episodes under consideration. For there can be no doubt that the matter in Tyolet is derived from an original tale in which the stag represents a person under enchantment, in this case the father or some male relative of the maiden, and the cutting off the foot, which brings about the disenchantment, is a task set the hero which he must perform before he can win the hand of the maiden. This type of story is widespread,² but it certainly has nothing whatever to do with the stag-messenger episode as employed in the stories cited

¹ Ed. Paris, Rom. 8, pp. 41 sq.

² Cf. Nutt, l. c., pp. 161 sq.; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, pp. 241 sq.; Kittredge, *Disenchantment by Decapitation*, Amer. Jour. of Folklore, 18, 1905, pp. 1 sq. The Mabinogi of Peredur ab Evrawc, Loth, *Les Mabinogian*, II, pp. 107 sq. is to be compared.

above. Nor are we justified in comparing the dog,¹ which in this story, as in Percival, aids the hero in the performance of his task, with the stag-messenger, since the essential features are totally different; the dog is not hunted, nor does it lead the hero to a lady who is to become his wife. Rather does it belong to the category of helpful beasts which play such a large part in folk tales,² but which agree with the stag messenger in one respect only, that they may be directed by a fairy lady.

It is needless to cite further examples of these stories in which the animal is slain, but I may call attention to another type of tale in which the hunt seems to be merely a test of the hero's fitness, generally for the performance of some larger task. The two are hard to distinguish and one may be derived from the other; however this may be, certainly to the writers of our tales the slaying of the animal did not mean a method of disenchantment; to most of them it was simply a task the performance of which met with a suitable reward; compare the stag hunt which forms the introduction to Chrétien's Erec, and such an incident as the pursuit by Gawain of a white stag which had entered Arthur's court, Malory, bk. III, ch. 5.

There are also several passages in the Welsh Mabinogion which, in view of the accepted Celtic origin of the stag-messenger episode, must be noticed. With the pursuit of the white boar in Guingamor has been compared the hunt of Arthur and his Knights of Twrch Trwyth in Kulhwch and Olwen (Loth I, pp. 275 sq.), and the pursuit of the boar by Pryderi and Manawyddan in Manawyddan, Son of Llyr (Loth I, p. 105).³ In the former the object of the hunt is to gain the magic comb and scissors which were to be found between the ears of the animal, and this quest is a task which the hero must perform before he can win the hand of Olwen from her ogre father Yspaddaden Penkawr. After a chase which led the hunters from one end of Britain to the other, the quest was accom-

¹ Cf. Miss Paton, l. c., p. 230, n. 3.

² Cf. Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, 1905, pp. 688 sq.; Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, p. 634, n. 2. On the general topic, cf. Hartland, l. c., pp. 294 sq.; Legend of Perseus, III, pp. 191 sq., and the excellent remarks of Kittredge, *Gawain*, pp. 234 sq.

³ Cf. Lot, *Rom.* 25, 1896, p. 590, and 30, 1901, p. 14. Lot does not cite these passages as parallels to the stag-messenger episode.

plished and Kulhwch and Olwen married and lived happily ever after. Whatever this weird tale may have been in origin, it certainly has nothing in common with the stag-messenger episode. The other tale, as Lot notes, is much closer to the hunt in Guingamor, but the animal is not slain. Pryderi and Manawyddan go hunting and come upon a white boar; it leads them to a deserted castle into which the boar, pursued by the dogs, disappears. Pryderi follows, finds himself in a tenantless castle where there is a fountain surrounded by a marble railing on which is a golden cup; he takes hold of the cup and then can neither withdraw his hand nor utter a single word, but remains there, transfixed and dumb, beside the fountain. The same fate befalls his mother Riannon when, on the next day, she enters the castle in search of him. Here again the essential features of the stag-messenger episode are lacking and, although there may be similarities, we certainly are not justified in assuming that we are dealing with the same story. This must be the conclusion, also, it seems to me, in regard to the hunt in Pwyll, Prince of Dyvet (Loth I, pp. 27 sq.). Pwyll is hunting with his companions and pack of hounds, and while following these,—we are not told the game,—is lost. He then hears the cry of a pack not his own, and soon a stag appears, pursued by the strange pack, which bring it to earth and kill it. These hounds are of wondrous beauty, snow-white with red ears, such hounds as Pwyll had never seen before. He drives them off, however, and recalls his pack to the quarry; a noble knight comes up and reproaches him for his discourtesy. Pwyll offers to make amends and the stranger, who turns out to be Arawn, king of Annwn, i. e. the Other World, suggests that they exchange shapes and circumstances for a year; to this Pwyll consents, and his true worth as knight is proved by the fact that he forbears to claim the prerogatives of a husband from the other's wife. At the conclusion of the year they resume their former selves, remaining loyal friends and exchanging presents.

In this story, it is to be noted, the stag does not lead Pwyll to Arawn, for it is he who is chasing the stag, and the emphasis is laid not on the latter but on the dogs; nor, furthermore, is Pwyll led, as a result of this encounter, to the lady who is to become his wife; his meeting with Riannon, whom he afterwards marries, is the result of another episode. Whatever the original of this story may have been, it is clear that we are far

removed from such an episode as that in *Dolopathos*. I have tried hard to convince myself that the two episodes are related, for it would serve me a very pretty turn. This Welsh tale contains a version of the story of *The Calumniated Wife*, a story widespread but certainly not Celtic,¹ and a version of this same story occurs in the *Swan-maiden* story in *Dolopathos* in connection with the stag-messenger episode. This story, then, and *Pwyll* are constructed after the same pattern and out of similar material; in *Dolopathos* we have, 1. Stag-messenger episode; 2. story of the *Swan-maiden*; 3. story of *The Calumniated Wife*; in *Pwyll*, 1. modified stag-messenger episode; 2. fairy maiden story (*Riannon*); 3. story of the *Calumniated Wife*. Since, therefore, this last story is certainly not Celtic, and since I shall prove, just as conclusively, I think, that the first is not Celtic, it would be permissible to conjecture that the author of *Pwyll* or his source, having a non-Celtic tale before him, modified the stag-messenger episode, which is kept practically unchanged in *Dolopathos*, and substituted a different type of fairy maiden story, in which, however, the end is the same, namely, marriage of the lady, as a mortal, with the hero, and her calumny. This is no more improbable than the results of many comparative studies in this field, but I am content to note that, since we have in *Pwyll*, just as in the so-called Breton lays, material which is certainly not Celtic, any argument for the Celtic origin of the stag-messenger episode, based upon the fact that it occurs in these stories, has to be supported by other evidence.

As far, therefore, as our earliest Welsh remains are concerned there is in them no episode which shows the essential features of the stag messenger,—the apparently voluntary hunt of a stag which escapes unhurt, meeting with a lady at a fountain, marriage of the hero and this lady, and life in the hero's domains. This same conclusion results from a study of the earliest Irish tales, which certainly antedate the appearance of the episode on French soil. No one will deny that the fairy mistress episode, the notable characteristic of which is the dwelling of the hero in the fairy world with his mistress,² and the

¹ This is admitted by the warmest adherents of the Celtic cause; cf. Kittredge, *Harv. Studies and Notes*, 8, 1903, p. 241.

² The other form, in which the lady lives as a mortal with the hero in his home, is rare in the earliest tales. One of the best examples occurs

journey to the Other World, loom large in Irish literature, but there is nothing to warrant the conclusion that the stag-messenger episode had a place there. In regard to the journey to the Other World, in the earliest type, the voyages of Bran and Maelduin, no animal¹ is the guide of the travelers, and the hero has no adventure with the supernatural ladies which his companions do not share.² In regard to the fairy mistress episodes, it is characteristic of the earliest examples that the lady presents herself directly to the hero or sends a messenger in human shape.³ Whenever an animal does occur in such stories, a dog, a lion, or even a fish,⁴ it seems to belong to the category of the helpful beast and there is no hunt.

One early example of such a story must be considered at some length, not only because of the wide acceptance of the theory that the stag-messenger episode had its origin in Celtic stories which told of a mortal's journey to the other world to a fairy mistress, but because this story has been expressly cited as evidence of such origin.⁵ This is the famous *Tochmarc*

in *The Debility of the Ultonian Warriors*, found in the *Book of Leinster*; cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée Celtique*, I, pp. 320 sq.; other examples are cited by Cross, *Mod. Phil.* 12, 1915, pp. 593 sq.

¹ According to Professor Cross, however, l. c., p. 592, "the hunt for the white deer in *Graelent*" was "probably borrowed from the conventional *Journey to the Other World*".

² This is very common in Celtic other world stories; cf. the examples collected by Schofield, *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, 5, 1896, pp. 225 sq.

³ This is true, e. g. of the appearance of the fairy to Crunniuc mac Agnoman in *The Debility of the Ultonian Warriors*, cited above, and in the most famous instance of them all, that of Fand and Cuchulinn, one version of which is contained in the *Lebor na h'Uidre* (11th cen.), Fand sends a messenger; cf. D'Arbois, l. c., pp. 170 sq. This messenger is in some cases a shape-shifter, cf. Brown, *Harv. Stud. and Notes*, 8, 1903, p. 114, Cross, *Stud. in Philol. Univ. N. Carolina*, 1913, pp. 31 sq.; in no case, however, does such a messenger take on the shape of a stag. Professor Cross in *Mod. Phil.* 12, pp. 594 sq., has collected a great number of fairy mistress stories, but in no one of them does the hero meet the *fée* as the result of a hunt in which the animal leads him to her. He himself notes that "in early Irish saga the *fée* and her mortal prototype generally take the initiative in love-making," that "in every case the woman does the wooing", (p. 615), and that this is entirely in harmony with what we know of the early Irish social system, cf. pp. 612, 617.

⁴ Examples are given by Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, pp. 688 sq.

⁵ By Brown, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 20, pp. 688 sq.

Emere,¹ The Wooing of Emer, which tells of a journey made by Cuchulinn to the other world. Cuchulinn is a suitor for the hand of the beautiful Emer, but before she will marry him he must give further proof of his prowess in arms. In order, therefore, to receive instruction he sets out, with two companions, to visit Scathach, the warrior queen of Albion,² but, owing to the tricks of an ugly maiden who loves him but whom he has repulsed, he is separated from his companions, and as he goes on his way alone a strange creature resembling a lion presents itself before him. He mounts on its back and travels thus for four days, when the lion leaves him. His adventures then begin, but he finally succeeds, partly with the help of a supernatural youth, in making his way into Scathach's land. Here he is received by Scathach and her daughter Uathach, who at once falls in love with him and determines, with her mother's permission, to make him her bed-fellow. She even disguises herself as a maid to wait upon him and while she is performing this service Cuchulinn strikes her and breaks her finger. At her cries all the attendants of the castle rush to her aid and Cuchulinn, in the fight which ensues, slays Cochor Cruifne, a brave champion of Scathach, much to the sorrow of the latter; Cuchulinn, however, promises to serve her in his stead. From Uathach he learns how to find Scathach "that he might receive the instruction in arms for which he had come", and how to make her give him such instruction. All is done as Uathach advises, whose husband Cuchulinn was as long as he remained in the house of Scathach. This did not prevent him, however, from having another love affair during his stay in the other world, with Aife, a supernatural Amazon, an enemy of Scathach, whom he overcomes in more ways than one, and the child of this union was Connla.³ If the helpful

¹ Contained in part in the *Lebor na h'Uidre*, and complete in later MSS. A translation of the entire story by Meyer, *Archæol. Rev.* vol. I. Cf. D'Arbois, l. c., pp. 39 sq.

² For this theme, the supernatural woman instructing a young hero in the art of war, in Celtic literature, cf. Nutt, *Folk Lore Jour.* IV, 1881, p. 31. It may also be noted that the father of Emer expressly sets a certain task for Cuchulinn to perform before he begins the journey to the land of Scathach; in this part of the tale, at least, we are dealing with a type of the testing of a hero.

³ It will be noticed that this summary differs radically from that given by Professor Brown, l. c., and it is to be regretted that he did not call

lion in this story is to be connected with the stag in the episode under discussion, one cannot help wondering which of these three supernatural ladies sent the lion to guide Cuchulinn to her, and why, if Scathach is the fairy mistress, she differs from all other fairy mistresses in this type of story in that she is sought by the hero, instead of seeking him without his knowledge, and sought, too, not to be his paramour but his teacher in the art of war.

We must conclude, therefore, it seems to me, that the first condition postulated above has not been met; it cannot be proved beyond reasonable doubt that the stag-messenger episode was part of Celtic tradition before its appearance on French soil. It must be noted, also, that there is no theory which has been advanced to explain the origin of one or both of the episodes in question, which will explain them both, or account for the fact that in one type the stag, after leading the hero to the lady, disappears, whereas in the other type it is slain. If we group all such episodes under one head and consider them to be derived from a Celtic tale of a fairy mistress¹ in which an animal serves to lead a mortal lover to the Other World to the *fée*, it is not easy to see why the animal should disappear in the one case and be slain in the other. If we are to connect such guiding beasts with helpful beasts, there is no explanation for the hunt, since helpful beasts are not hunted by those whom they help. If, on the other hand, we refer those stories in which the animal is slain to an original in which the beast represented a *fée* or a maiden under enchantment, and the decapitation brought about

attention to these details in citing this story as the foundation for the second part of Ivain, even though they render less startling the parallel which he finds between them. Cuchulinn is not invited to the fairy world, he does not fight with Cochor as the result of a challenge or before being received in Scathach's abode; we are not told that she, who is an elderly lady with two sons and a daughter, became his fairy mistress, and, if she does, Cuchulinn is at the same time the paramour of the daughter, with the mother's permission, and also has a liaison with another fairy princess.

¹ The last word which I have seen upon the subject is that of Professor Nitze, *Mod. Phil.* 1914, p. 481. He groups "the hunt in Pwyll, Guigemar, Guingamor, Tyolet, Graellent, the Dutch Lancelot, Perceval, Gottfried's Tristan, etc. It is, indeed, . . . a common induction motif to the fairy mistress episode". This seems to be also the view of Professor Cross; cf. his article in *Mod. Phil.* 1. c.

the disenchantment;¹ or if we maintain that the slaying of the animal is a task set the hero either by his lady-love or his kinsman who is under a spell and is to be rescued by the hero,² we still have no explanation for the fact that in one group the animal is not slain. The only logical conclusion is that the two types are not variants of one original, as far, at least, as we can judge from literary tradition, but differ fundamentally.

When we once admit that there is a fundamental difference between the two types of the stag hunt, and that there is no story in early Celtic literature which shows the essential features of the stag-messenger episode, we may turn with some hope of success to the question of the source of the latter. This must occur in some form, oral or written, which is demonstrably free from Celtic influence, and equally current and equally accessible to a French writer as any possible Celtic source.

It is natural that a student of the classics should think of a classical analogue to the stag-messenger episode, and I had long ago convinced myself that certain essentials of the story, the hunt, vain pursuit of the animal, disappearance of the hunter, were well known to the Greeks and Romans. A very striking example of such a story is furnished by Ovid, *Met.* 14, 320 sq., the tale of Picus and Circe. The former was a young king, beauteous in person and brave of soul, so that all the water-nymphs were in love with him. He spurned them all, however, save the beautiful Canens, who could sing so sweetly that she charmed wild beasts. One day Picus with his companions went forth to hunt boars, and Circe, who happened to be gathering magic herbs in the neighborhood, saw him and was at once overcome with love. She determined to get him in her power, and by her magic arts she fashioned the likeness of a wild boar, "*nullo cum corpore*", which seemed to spring up in front of him and to go into the thick forest whither his horse could not make its way. Picus thereupon dismounted, followed the boar,

¹ So, for example, Professor Nitze, *l. c.*; he fails to note that in Graeul, if not in others embraced in his "*etc.*", the animal is not slain.

² For such stories, cf. Nutt, *Stud. on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 144, 161; Hartland, *Sci. of Fairy Tales*, pp. 242 sq.; Kittredge, *l. c.*, pp. 232 sq. In some cases the performance of the task seems to be merely a test of the hero's fitness, in others it brings about the disenchantment.

and was led into the depths of the forest far from his companions. Circe appeared before him, begged for his love, but he remained true to Canens, and she, in revenge, turned him into a bird (*Picus*).

This tale,—which I do not cite as a direct source for the stories considered above, although Ovid is a possible source for any mediaeval story,—contains the hunt, separation from companions, meeting with the lady, but a boar instead of a stag and no fountain. In the following tale, found in Pausanias 2, 30, 7 (a Greek writer of the 2d cen. A. D.), we have the hunt and a hind, but other characteristics are lacking. Saron, a king of Epidauria, the builder of a temple to Saronian Artemis on the sea-shore, took great delight in hunting, and one day it befell that he chased a hind which fled from him into the sea. He plunged in after it and, transported by the ardor of the chase, he swam in pursuit until he found himself in the open sea. Then his strength failed, the waves washed over him and he was drowned. His body, Pausanias adds, was cast up on the shore and was buried within the sacred inclosure of the temple. In another passage, 8, 22, 8, Pausanias tells a similar tale in connection with his account of the sanctuary of Artemis in Stymphalus. Here the huntsman disappears completely, as, in the original tale, must have been the case with Saron.

Such a story, which was doubtless derived from a form in which Artemis sent the deer to lead a hero from the land of mortals, either as a reward or punishment, recalls at once the famous hind on Mt. Keryneia with its golden horns which was sacred to the goddess,¹—the hind which Hercules pursued and which led him to the other world, to the land of the Hyperboreans (Pindar, 1. c.). And it was this same Hercules, we may note, who met Auge by a spring² and became by her the father of Telephus, and the latter, just as the children in the swan-maiden stories considered above, was exposed, and then suckled by a hind.³ In view of the appearance of the hind in these stories dealing with Hercules, it cannot be chance that it is

¹ Cf. Pindar, Ol. 3, 29; Kallimachus, Hym. Art. 107 sq.; Apollod. 2, 31.

² Paus. 8, 47, 4; according to other versions he first saw her in a temple; cf. Frazer's note on this passage and on Paus. 1, 4, 6.

³ Cf. the references in the preceding note. According to Quintus Smyrnaeus, 6, 141, Zeus ordered the hind to feed the babe.

another story in which Hercules appears which furnishes us with the closest sort of a parallel to the stag-messenger episode. This is the story of Hylas, the young attendant of Hercules upon the Argonautic expedition, as told by Valerius Flaccus, a Latin poet of the time of Vespasian, in his *Argonautica*, 3, 508, sq.

Upon the landing of the Argonauts in Mysia, Hercules, attended by Hylas, sets out into the forest to hunt. Juno, who is watching things from her seat in heaven, thinks that this would be a good chance to punish her enemy, and, catching sight of a band of water-nymphs, she drops down from heaven and takes her stand by the side of one of them, Dryope by name, who, frightened by the wild animals which are fleeing from Hercules, is hurrying for the refuge of her spring. Juno tells her that Hylas, whom she has destined for her spouse, is wandering about the woods, and she then rouses up through the shady paths a swift stag that broke forth just before the youth. Hylas catches at the bait, and sets out in pursuit of the stag, but it keeps just far enough ahead of him to be safe, gradually drawing Hylas on and on through the forest, away from Hercules, until it leads him "*ad nitidi spiracula fontis*", where it escapes (vs. 553). The boy, wearied by his fruitless task, bends greedily over the still pool which "was not one whit disturbed as the nymph rose to snatch kisses from his rosy lips"; she cast her eager arms about him and drew him, calling in vain the name of his mighty friend, down beneath the waves. Hercules sought long for the boy and finally fell into a deep sleep, when Hylas appeared to him and told him not to indulge in bootless woe, since the grove was now his home and Juno was striving to win for him immortality and the honors of the fountain.

In none other of the many versions of the Hylas story does this stag-messenger episode occur, although in two other versions¹ we are told that Hylas disappeared while on a hunt; these versions are independent of Valerius. Nor is the animal specified in a doublet of this story which tells how Bormos, the

¹ Six poetic versions survive and four in prose, to say nothing of the many references to the story. The hunt is mentioned in two late Greek versions, that of Zenobius, 6, 21, and a poetic version ascribed to Orpheus but written about 400 A. D.

beautiful son of a rich and well-known father, was carried off by the nymphs while hunting.¹ It is clear, however, that none of these stories could have served as the source for the mediaeval version of the stag-messenger, for the poem of Valerius, containing the only complete one, was not known apparently during the Middle Ages, and besides this, his version lacks what seems to me to be a very essential element of the story, namely, the return of the hero to his own domains with the fairy lady as his bride. Its importance lies in the fact that, taken in connection with the other stories which I have quoted, it proves beyond all doubt that the ancients were well acquainted with the episode in the form which became a commonplace during the 12th century. Of much more importance is it, however, that the Hylas story was localized in that part of Asia Minor where the Greeks very early came into contact with people largely of Semitic stock, and it is recognized that the ritual which doubtless underlies this story,—the lamentation and cries for Hylas at a spring,—is Hebrew and not Greek, and is to be compared with the stories of Lityrses, Linos, Adonis, and Attis.²

This fact turns our attention at once from a possible occidental source,—possible, because the story of Hylas may have lingered on among the people³ without appearing in literature, to a

¹ Complete references are given in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl. s. v. Bormos*. The same story is told of other youths; cf. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, III, p. 13, 9.

² Cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythol.* pp. 319, 967; Roscher, *Lex. d. Gr. u. Röm. Mythol. s. v. Hylas*. For the sacredness of springs among the Semites, cf. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 106 sq., 167 sq. For the Semitic character of such rites, cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, *Attis, Adonis, Osiris*, I, pp. 1 sq., 223 sq. The connection of Hylas with Hercules, although very old, is probably not original, and Hercules seems to have taken the place of an earlier hero, Polyphemus; cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Euripides, Herakles*, 2d. ed. p. 31.

³ It is to be noted that stories of the metamorphosis of people into stags were apparently well known; cf. the story of Actaeon, for example, and Terence, in the prologue to his *Phormio*, attacks a rival dramatist for introducing on the stage "*insanum—adulescentulum | cervam videre fugere et sectari canes | et eam plorare, orare ut subveniat sibi*"; cf. also the story of Iphigeneia and the proverb, "a hind instead of a maid", *Achilles Tatius*, 6, 2. Hence human and even superhuman powers were given to stags; Mithridates was said to have had one which acted as his guard while he slept and gave warning by its cry when any one approached, *Ael. de nat. an.* 7, 46. And Pliny, *N. H.* 8, 117, tells of

possible oriental source. This is suggestive in view of the fact noted above that the stag-messenger episode occurs in tales which contain material that is undoubtedly oriental, but it increases the difficulty, since we are pointed to a path where few can walk without stumbling. All that I can do is to offer conclusive evidence that the stag-messenger episode is oriental in origin, not Celtic, and that it occurred in forms which were early known and widely known in the west.

I have called attention in the preceding note to the supernatural qualities of the stag and to its position in the *Physiologos* as the enemy of the dragon. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the oriental character of this production, which probably originated among the Hellenic Hebrews in Alexandria,¹ and I merely wish to note the fact that the Christian redactor, whoever he may have been, used the old folk belief in the enmity between the stag and the serpent to explain the words of David, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God"; the hart longs for water which he uses to expel dragons from their holes in order to kill them, just as the Savior, with the water and blood which flowed from His side, killed the great dragon. In early Christian exegesis, therefore, owing chiefly, no doubt, to the symbolic interpretation of passages in the Old Testament (cf. e. g. Ps. 29, 9, Cant. 2, 17), the stag is very important, and is referred to as the symbol of Christ.² Hence it is not unnatural that it should have passed over into Christian legend, nor unseemly that Christ should have

a white hind which belonged to Sertorius "quam esse fatidicam Hispaniae gentibus persuaserat". I need hardly add that the antipathy of the stag to the serpent, which plays such a prominent part in the *Physiologos*, was recognized by the Ancients; cf. Pliny, l. c.; on this matter, cf. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, pp. 171 sq.

¹ The Greek version, ed. Lauchert, Strassburg, 1889, is ascribed to Epiphanius (298-403), Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus. On the widespread popularity of the work, cf. Evans, l. c., pp. 62 sq.; Karniev, *Documents et remarques pour l'histoire littéraire du Physiologos*, and the review of this work in *Rom.* 25, 1896, p. 459.

² Cf. Ambrose in Ps. David XLI, *Enarratio*: *Cervi similitudinem suscipit etiam Christus, quia veniens in terras serpentem illum diabolum sine ulla sui offensione protrivit*; id. *Praefatio* in Ps. XLI; Jerome, in *Is.* XXIV.

appeared in the form of a stag to the Roman general Placidus, the Christian saint, Eustatius.¹

Placidus was a Roman of illustrious birth, high station, and great wealth, who, although he gave himself to the doing of kind deeds, was still lost in the mazes of idolatry. He was passionately devoted to the chase, and one day, with many attendants, he went out into the forest to hunt. A herd of stags passed in view, and one, larger and more beautiful than the rest, detached itself from the others and fled into the depths of the forest. Placidus, with a few of the company, started out in pursuit, but soon his companions fell behind, and Placidus, whose horse owing to Divine Providence suffered no fatigue, followed on alone. The stag stopped finally on the summit of a great rock, and as Placidus gazed in admiration of its size and beauty, he saw a cross appear between its horns, and the stag spoke with human voice, telling him that it was Christ whom he was honoring though he knew it not.

This episode, which recalls at once the stag-messenger in the tales summarized above, serves as an introduction to a tale which belongs to the cycle of the Man Tried by Fate. This motif is oriental, perhaps Sanscrit, in origin, and Professor Gerould, in the article referred to, suggests that the Eustace version "derives through Arabian and Pahlavi from Sanscrit". Only in this version, however, does the stag appear, but "that it was essential to the legend as we have it is shown by the account in John of Damascus—and further by the fact that though the European derivatives do not usually keep the matter of the episode they almost invariably offer some substitute for it". (Gerould, l. c. p. 386.) The source of the episode is unknown and does not matter for my purpose,¹ since it is sufficient to have

¹ Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. VI, pp. 123 sq., Sept. 20. The earliest reference to the Saint occurs in the works of John of Damascus, *de Imag.*, Or. III, in ed. 1712, I, p. 372. The life was translated from the *Acta* by Aelfric in the 10th cen.; it is found, also, in the *Gesta Rom.* ed. Oesterly, pp. 444 sq., in the *Legenda aurea*, ed. Graesse, pp. 714 sq., and was one of the most popular legends of the Middle Ages; cf. the exhaustive study of Gerould, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 19, 1904, pp. 335 sq.

¹ The episode of the stag was taken over into the life of Saint Hubert, and seems to find an echo in the story of St. Felix de Valois, who lived as a hermit in the midst of a deep forest, near a spring, since called Cerfroid (*cervus frigidus*); thither comes to drink a stag having be-

shown that in a story which cannot possibly be Celtic, and which was well known in the West as early as the 10th century at the very latest, we find two important characteristics of the stag-messenger episode, the hunt voluntarily undertaken by an important personage, and the pursuit of a stag which separates him from his companions and is not slain. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar episode occurs in a rabbinical legend of David.¹ One day David was hunting in the wilderness when God, to punish David for his boastfulness, causes a stag to appear before him. David shot an arrow at it, but much to his surprise fails to wound the animal, which runs off. He gives chase and is led past the borders of the Philistines, where he is made captive by Yishbi of Nob, the brother of Goliath. In view of the sacred character of deer and antelopes in several parts of the Semitic world² it cannot be doubted that, in such stories, we are dealing with genuine Semitic tradition. It should be noted, however, that a similar story is found in the Râmâyana (ed. Gorresio, III, 48 sq.); a demon in the form of a stag leads Râma off into the forest and the king, who is responsible for the ruse, is successful in seizing Râma's wife, Sitâ; Râma, however, kills the stag.

The story, then, in its main features, must have been of Indian origin, and doubtless reached the Hebrews through the Persian,³ but it is very probable, it seems to me, that to an Arabian tale is due the romantic coloring, the meeting with the fairy lady

tween its horns a red and blue cross; hence the members of the order of the Redemption of Captives founded by him, wore a cross of this color. Professor Tupper kindly called my attention to the Middle English poetic version of the life of St. Eustace in Miss Weston, *The Chief Middle English Poets*, p. 78. From the Placidus story, I would suggest, is derived the episode of the stag-knight in Tyolet, noted above.

¹ The story occurs in the Midrasch, a work of the 10th cen., in two places; cf. Jellinek, *Bethamidrasch* 4, 140, 6, 106; cf. Marmorstein, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, 17, 1913, p. 172. The latter fails to note the fact that a version also occurs in the Babylonian Talmud, cf. the translation of Rodkinson, 8, *Jurisprudence*, Pt. II, p. 291, where the Hebrew word for stag (Javya) is mistakenly translated by 'ram'; cf. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Talmud*, Pt. I, p. 516. Baring-Gould, *Legends of Old Testament Characters*, pp. 321 sq., gives the former version also without mentioning the Talmudic variant.

² Cf. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 466 sq.

³ Cf. Darmesteter, *Revue des Études Juives*, 2 (1881) pp. 300-2.

at the fountain, which is characteristic both of the Hylas story, although here this detail may be Greek, as well as of the French versions of the stag-messenger story.¹ This is rendered almost a certainty by the fact that we find an exact prototype of the latter in the Hebrew version of the Seven Sages (Mischle Sendabar), which is derived from a lost Arabian version dating from the 9th century at the latest.² It is unnecessary for me to enter into the vexed question of the relation between this Hebrew version and the other versions of the oriental group on the one hand, and the versions of the western group on the other; suffice it to say that the Hebrew, which can hardly be later than the 11th century, was known in France, perhaps in a Latin dress,³ in the 12th century, is more closely related to the western group than any other of the oriental versions,⁴ and was known in some form, either through oral tradition or a Latin medium, to Johannes de Alta Silva, the author of *Dolopathos*,⁵ in which occurs the stag-messenger episode in combination with the swan-maiden story.

The tale to which I wish to call attention is the sixth in the collection, the second story of the queen (Hilka, Latin text, pp. 11 sq.). The matter, with slight variations, occurs in all the oriental versions, but the Hebrew differs from the others in combining two stories (Striga and Fons in Hilka's table, p. XXIV), to form one which runs as follows. A young prince,

¹ I may note the story in the Arabian Nights in which a maiden is changed into a gazelle; Lane's translation, London, 1839, v. I, pp. 48 sq.

² Cf. Campbell, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* 14, 1899, pp. 6 sq., and his book, *The Seven Sages of Rome*, Boston, 1907, pp. XV sq.

³ This is made extremely probable by the discovery by Hilka of a Latin version of the Hebrew text, either translated directly from it, or from some version intimately connected with it. The Latin MS in which it is found was written in Italy in 1407 and is edited by Hilka in his *Historia septem sapientum*, I, Heidelberg, 1912, with a valuable introduction.

⁴ Cf. Paris, *Rom.* 2, 1873, p. 486; Campbell, *l. c.*, pp. 9, 15; Hilka, *l. c.*, p. XII.

⁵ This is shown, among other things, by the fact that Johannes' version stands alone among the western versions in having but one tutor for the young prince as is the case in the Hebrew version. On the points of agreement, cf. the authorities cited; we must add, now, it seems to me, this stag-messenger episode, although it may have, and doubtless did, come to Johannes already combined with the swan-maiden story.

attended by one of his father's ministers and other companions, goes forth to hunt; a stag¹ appears and the prince starts out in pursuit of it, is separated from his companions, and is lost in the forest. He comes upon a beautiful maiden who tells him that she is a princess and, since she knows the way, can direct him aright. He takes her up on his horse behind him and they come to a deserted building,² where the maiden tells him that she must dismount in order to bathe her feet. She enters the building, and the youth, after waiting some time, looks through a crack in the wall. He sees that she is a *fée*,³ and hears her tell other fairy maidens that she has brought to them the king's son, and them reply that she must lead him to a certain place where they can work their will upon him. This frightens the boy and he returns to his horse, but the *fée* resumes her mortal form and again mounts the horse behind him. He finally manages to free himself from her, and flees through the desert, arriving at last at a spring, the water of which has the power of turning a man who drank of it into a woman, a woman into a man. He is thirsty from his hot ride and drinks eagerly,⁴ and straightway becomes a maiden. Very sorrowfully he remains there for the night, when a band of maidens comes and sports and sings by the spring. He arises to join in their play because he thinks that he has become a *fée*, and they all ask him who he is and whence he comes. He tells them his story, whereupon one of them remarks that if he will promise to make her his wife, she will free him and conduct him to his father. He gives her his promise and, upon her advice, drinks again of the spring and becomes again a male. She then acts as his guide and leads him safely to his father.⁵

¹ A wild ass in the Greek, Syrian, and Persian versions, a gazelle in the Arabic, simply a wild animal in the Old Spanish.

² Quoddam desertum, in the Latin version, a "ruin" in all except the Arabic version which has simply a "wall".

³ "Striga" in the Latin, "Lamia" in the Greek, "ghûl" in the Syrian and in one of the Arabic versions.

⁴ This reminds one of the Hylas story cited above.

⁵ I do not believe in using modern tales to support an argument which concerns mediaeval problems, for folk-tales travel far and in unaccountable ways; merely for the purpose of illustrating the persistency of tradition, I call attention to the modern Greek tale in Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesishe Märchen*, no. 15, a tale in which the stag-messenger

In this story, therefore, we find all the essential details which I have noted above as characteristic of the stag-messenger episode,—the hunt, undertaken by the hero simply as a hunt, the appearance of the stag, the pursuit by the hero and resulting separation from his companions, disappearance of the stag unwounded, meeting with a maiden by a spring, return of the hero to his home with the maiden who becomes his wife. Here we find, also, in the wandering of the prince in the desert the explanation of the presence of a desert in Auberon and the Italian version of Tristan; this is surely a genuine oriental touch and is meaningless in these last named tales without reference to an oriental setting. Finally, this story is one which entirely satisfies the second of the two conditions postulated above; it is demonstrably oriental and not Celtic, and it occurs in a form which was as widely known (even more widely known) and as accessible as any possible Celtic source. Since,

episode is connected with a swan-maiden story as in *Dolopathos*. The beginning is very similar to this story in the oriental versions of the *Seven Sages*, and is clearly derived from the same stock. In the modern tale, however, there is introduced between the hunt and the finding of the swan-maidens an episode which seems to be derived, although Hahn does not note it, from the famous story of Hasan of Bassorah, found in the *Arabian Nights* (translation by Lane, v. III, pp. 384 sq.). Curiously enough there also occurs in this modern tale an exact parallel to the helpful beasts in the *Mabinogi* of *Kulhwch and Olwen* (Loth, I, pp. 260 sq.); the hero is sent by one animal to another until he obtains the information he is seeking, and the last animal carries him to his destination; in the Welsh tale this animal is a salmon, in the Greek, a species of hen. An interesting version of the stag-messenger episode also survives in the modern German tale of the *Little Brother and Sister*, Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, no. 11. According to Remy, *Jour. English and German Phil.* 12, 1913, p. 54, in the Scottish ballad which contains the story of Thomas of Erceldoune, Thomas "is summoned to return to the mountain by the apparition of a hart and a hind,—sure signs of a fairy messenger". As a matter of fact, however, the ballad tells us nothing of the sort, nor does the romance; cf. Murray's ed. of *Thomas of Erceldoune*, E. E. T. 61, 1875, p. XLIX; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, p. 204. The information is due to Sir Walter Scott, *Border Minstrelsy*, III, p. 209. Nor is there any trace in the popular tradition set forth by Murray, l. c. Even if Scott's record is authentic it has no bearing upon the source of the stag-messenger episode since it is more than offset by the fuller account in the modern Greek tale.

therefore, no Celtic tale satisfies the first of the two conditions, and since this story satisfies the second, we may conclude with entire assurance that our episode is derived from oriental sources. In regard to its immediate source all that we can safely say is that it seems to have been a popular version, which was doubtless put into Latin before the time of Johannes de Alta Silva, of this story in *Mischle Sendabar*. What influence Ovid's story of *Picus* may have had, or whether the *Hylas* story, in the form used by *Valerius Flaccus*, was known among the people, cannot now be determined; they are evidence, however, that the type was familiar for many centuries, and, combined with the Hebrew story, render any Celtic hypothesis absolutely unnecessary.

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